



ROSENBERG: HIS MEMORY LINGERS

Intolerance, Incorporated

Former Nazi minions, still

in business, advocate the dismemberment of Russia

WHILE WEST EUROPEAN statesmen attempt to eliminate the vestiges of irresponsible nationalism through the Schuman Plan, the European Customs Union, the Council of Europe, the Atlantic Union movement and the United Nations, various American and British politicians are trying to whip up old national and ethnic hatreds in East Europe as a way of beating Stalin and the Cominform. They are doing so by supporting certain self-appointed spokesmen for non-Russian European ethnic groups in an effort to oppose not Stalin but the Russian people. The leading group in this category bears the name of "The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations," or ABN. Although its paternity is shadowy Nazi, it has received concrete aid from the so-called Scottish League for European Freedom, and its viewpoint has been most sympathetically presented here by the Ukrainian National Congress (a group of American citizens of Ukrainian or Galician descent) and its chairman, the influential Dr. Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown University.

ABN was formed in 1946 by the so-called Banderovite Ukrainians, in order to rally the remnants of the various "national committees" that operated under the direction of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg's Nazi Ministry for the East. The Banderovites, openly anti-Russian, anti-Polish and anti-Semitic, got their start through the Nazis before the

war. During the 1930s, some of their members specialized in assassinating Polish parliament members and officials of Ukrainian origin who favored conciliation between the Poles and the Ukrainian minority. After a brief fall from grace (1942-44) due to Hitler's contempt for all Slav nationalities, the Banderovite Ukrainians hastened to return to the service of the Nazis in 1944-45. Now they have rallied other Rosenberg minions in what purports to be an international of separatists.

The Banderovite paternity of ABN is undisputed. ABN's first publications were printed by the Banderovite UHVR. As lately as June 1951 the *ABN Correspondence* noted that the Banderovite group was receiving publicity "through the ABN." Nominal chairman of ABN is Iuryslaw Stetsko, a politician from the Western (Caucasian) Ukraine, which was a part of Austria-Hungary until 1914 and of Poland until 1939. Interestingly enough, while one of the organization's major aims is the carving of a Ukrainian state out of present Soviet territory, Soviet Ukrainians play almost no role in the whole movement, preferring to join more democratic groups (separatist or federalist).

Stetsko first achieved notoriety when the Germans occupied Lvov (Lemberg) in 1941. He proclaimed himself prime minister of a "Ukrainian government" and achieved the support of the Banderovite lands, and within a few days managed to pile up an impressive record of wholesale extermination of Poles, Jews, Russians and anti-Banderovite Ukrainians. Despite Stetsko's repeated eulogies of Hitler, however, the "government" was short-lived and Stetsko arrested.

The head of ABN's "Council of Nations" is

Last week, Fred Forrest, former U.S. intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs, exposed the NTS—a Russian designed group with Nazi origins which opposes minority rights. Now he tells another spurious group, posing as the spokesman for ethnic minorities. Both organizations receive material support in the West.

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Bernins, in the 1930s Public Affairs Minister of Latvia under the fascist Ulmanis regime. Bernins was responsible for the confinement in concentration camps of the democratic and Socialist deputies of the Latvian parliament, as well as the leading Latvian trade-union and co-operative leaders. Other ABN humanitarians include Vali Kavum "Khan," wartime Führer of the Turkestani, who was reared in Germany and was a special Nazi favorite; Vladimir Glazkov, the "inventor" of the Cossack "nation" and an agent of various intelligence services; and Fatali-Bey, an Azerbaijani officer and intimate associate of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

ABN's slogans reveal a single-minded preoccupation with one issue: "independence" for any and all who want it, a splitting up of the present Soviet Union into twenty-five states, with "Russia" reduced to a land-bound Switzerland in the area of Moscow. Stetko, writing under one of his many pseudonyms, Z. Karlovich, explained the basis of this new Morgenthau plan a few years ago. The only organic unit of organization, he said, is the National State. "The National State is a dogma, the truth of our political faith." The slogan "Freedom of nations" invariably precedes any and all references to fundamental human rights. "Objectively," says Stetko, "there cannot exist any higher ideal than the Nation." The ABN, interestingly enough, lists Czechs and Slovaks as separate nations, and likewise Carins, Serbs and Slovenes. (Why the Yugoslavs are listed as "Russian-oppressed" is a mystery.) But when the ABN members converse with each other, they do so in German (thanks to their wartime services) or in Russian (the language they claim to despise most).

ABN hates all things Russian—not Bolshevik, but Russian. It proclaims: "We are fighting for the complete annihilation and partition of the Russian empire. . . . We reject on principle all federations, blocs, confederations. . . ." Such a claim for independence is made indiscriminately for large nationalities with a contiguous territory, as well as for scattered and ethnically mixed groups; for nationalities with some historical tradition and others that are little more than a synthetic amalgam of peoples which never formed separate states. The whole course of Russian history is portrayed as one of popular aggressions—it is the nature of "that people." Bolshevism is a typically Russian phenomenon, for "every nation has the form of government it deserves." They overlook, of course, the non-Russian in the Soviet high command from the Georgians Beria and Stalin up down; just as they damn such non-Russian leaders of the Russian liberation movement as the Ukrainians Korotenko and the Georgians Chikheidze and Tsereteli. Nor do the legions of the Cominform or the millions of Russian victims of Communism figure in ABN calculations. ABN declares that the Russian people are responsible for the crimes of the present rulers and claim "reparation for all the injustice suffered" by the Georgians, Volga Tatars,

or Kara-Kal; since they were absorbed into the Russian state.

The ABN has a curious doctrine about Europeans and Asians. "The Russian people," ABN Correspondence says, "has never been able to evolve what the West considers to be an order of society worthy of human beings." The refrain continues: "There is only one inveterate enemy of humanity in this world—Moscow." All the "nations" of ABN "had long reached a stage of civilization far ahead of Moscow." By this token, the Asiatic members of ABN become Europeans, whereas "the Russians are not really Europeans at all." But occasionally, the Banderovite leaders of ABN forget their Asian colleagues and accuse Stalin of sending "into the Ukraine battalions of Far Eastern semi-savages putrid with Siberian syphilis."

Never is there a question of Bolshevism being a danger *per se*, and in the pedestrian jingoism of the ABN one cannot expect any serious discussion of totalitarianism as "a disease to which all humanity is in some degree vulnerable," as George Kennan put it. The separation of all ethnic groups into autonomous units is "the only reason for fighting against Moscow." Privately, a Georgian officer of ABN declares that he prefers Stalin to a Russian non-Communist ruler because "at least Stalin is a Georgian." Unless they are all promised "absolute, full, unconditional" independence (that is, without the "condition" of a free plebiscite among the actual residents of the Soviet areas affected), ABN says, "what should our people fight for in common with the West?"

RUSSIANS ARE ALL THE SAME

It does not matter to ABN what type of government is established in Russia, for "Russians are all the same," and "no Russians fight against Stalin." According to ABN, all Russians, "be they of Tsarist, socialist, 'democratic,' solidarist or Soviet stripe," have the same interest in "oppressing" all other nations. Victor Chernov, Alexander Kerensky, Irach Tsereteli, Raphael Abramovitch (the latter two are not Great Russians) are indiscriminately lunched with Nicholas II and General Vlasov—the latter considered a Russian chauvinist by the ABN, while other pro-Ukrainian propagandists make the equally false claim that his entire Russian Liberation Army was fighting for Ukrainian separatism. Russian democrats are but "the sixth column of Russian imperialism"; "Social-democratic liberation would be nothing but a fourth form of Russian imperialism and megalomania." This despite the fact that all the Russian democrats, including Kerensky, Chernov and Abramovitch, have publicly advocated national self-determination by a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations.

Such is the line of intolerance which the Banderovite leaders proposed for ABN. But many, if not most, of the non-Banderovites (with the possible exception of the Turkestani who preach their own kind of imperialism)

INTOLERANCE

There grows uneasiness about the progress of Stetko and Company. If they remain in ABN, it is largely because there is no other "active" international of East European or Asian nationalists for them to join. Many are antagonized by Bandera's refusal to deal with the Present International, with anti-Communist socialists, and even with anti-Bandera separatists, including Ukrainian democrats. Crimean Tatars, North Caucasians (Ossetians, Kabardians, Balkarians and Chechens), Cossacks and Rumanians look warily at the Bandevite map of a future "Greater Ukraine" which would include areas from the Danube and Carpathians to the Volga, including large slices of the Northern Caucasus, Russia proper and the Crimean peninsula. Most of these groups have the encroachment of Ukrainian imperialism, but remain in ABN because it "drives a wedge among Slavic forces." There is no bona fide Polish representation in ABN because of the traditional anti-Polish edge of the Bandevites. Among Ukrainians themselves, Bandera's group has been rapidly losing support.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

Finally, there is ample evidence (partly presented by former Bandevite officials like Petro Yuror who have broken with that organization) that there has been a considerable penetration into ABN by Soviet agents, who have attempted to neutralize effective anti-Communist movements in exile and to attack leading anti-Communist statesmen like George Korman (who has pleaded for friendship with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Great Russian majority, and who has recommended free self-determination by the peoples concerned as the only solution to the nationalities problem).

Whatever one may think of creating new national states, organizations of democratic separatists from among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are legitimate—when they recognize that the question must be decided by the peoples living in the U.S.S.R. There can be no objection to organizations which, after Stalin's fall, aim to convince Soviet Ukrainians, Soviet Georgians, Soviet Kazakhs that their lot would be better if they broke their bonds with the Russians. But organizations which demand a priori "recognition" of their country's independence (without regard for the desires of the population concerned) are quite another matter.

Actually, the ABN would be completely impotent without the aid it has received from foreign states, notably from the so-called Scottish League for European Freedom (22 Young Street, Edinburgh). Its eighty-year-old chairman, John F. Stewart, heads a band of leaders in the East of Manfield as well as other MPs, such as Major Guy Lloyd and Lt. Col. Sir Thomas Moore. The Scottish League has been instrumental in financing both the ABN publications and the ABN conferences in Edinburgh (June 1950) and Munich (June 1951). ABN now publishes a monthly bulletin out of Munich in English, Ger-

man and French; places articles in numerous publications, describing non-existent "underground armies" behind the Iron Curtain; sends delegates to any meeting that will have them (such as the World Conference on Moral Re-Armament at Caux); and distributes postcards carrying the flags of the 24 "sovereign nations" represented—including the State of Idel Ural, Cossackia, and Union of North Caucasian Mountaineers et al.

Reports that some influential British circles are behind ABN are persistent. The implication is that ABN's program of severing the Caucasus, Central Asia and Ukraine from Russia would fit into the plans of British economic and power interests. This may not be true, but if it is not, the Labor Government must soon make its position explicit on this issue. Meanwhile, ABN has like Stetko, Korman "Khan," and the Hungarian arm of the ABN "military department," Ferenc Farkas, Kibarnak, have been making visits to Britain.

The great danger of the ABN separatists is that, like the NTS chauvinists I reported on last week, they have complete disregard for popular sovereignty and are ready to stir up any kind of racial, religious or national hatreds to achieve their ends. This undoubtedly explains the collaboration of both groups with the Nazis but it cannot explain their continued support by influential elements in democratic society. The future of the peoples of the Soviet Union, if it is to be fashioned constructively, must be fashioned by the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves in an atmosphere of complete freedom. That applies to the problem of union or secession for nationalities as well as it does to other problems of post-Stalinist Russia. The totalitarians of the ABN and the NTS would never permit such an atmosphere: they are thus the enemies both of their own and of world democracy. If we are fighting for race and for peace among all peoples, we must look to our allies to democratic spokesmen abroad and, most important, to the freedom-seeking millions of Jews and non-Russians in the Soviet Union today.

IT'LL ALL COME OUT IN THE WASH

Senator McCarthy angrily charged that the committee trying to "whitewash" his charges that Senator Tydings "was a traitor" his charges against the State Department.—News

It makes, indeed, a very bright wash
When there's a whitewash of a whitewash.
As white is fact no virgin most is,
It would appear that brother Joe is.
No chicken coop or fence is more so,
It's hard to see why he is sure so,
But maybe what is giving trouble
Is that, with charges whitewashed double,
The utter blackness of the rest of him
Will stand out more, and get the best of him.

—Richard A.